

INTERVIEW BETWEEN

DR. RALPH R. BUNCHE

and

DR. HIDEKI YUKAWA

DR. BUNCHE: On the general subject, we are in a most difficult and dangerous period, and ironically so, because I believe that never in the history has it been so true that people everywhere are longing for peace. There have been times when it might appear that there might be war, like peoples with war-like attitudes. But there are no such peoples in the world today--nowhere.

There aren't even any governments which talk to their peoples in terms of war. It was possible before for governments to say, "Well, we must have this, and if we can't get it peacefully, we will go to war." No government can even say this to us. It must speak to its people in terms of peace.

It may say that we have to be prepared for the eventuality of war, because there are war-like policies being pursued by other governments, or their motivations, and so forth. But that is the great irony that the people everywhere have had enough of war. Yet we are in a situation where war could be easily possible.

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I do not believe that we are going to have war. I think that a major war will be averted. But the present situation is dangerous, because in a situation of this kind, impulsive actions or unfortunate incidents could blow things up. And as I see it, nothing is more futile than war today, because with the weapons available I can't for the life of me see how anybody could win--that is, win in terms of having any substance, because I have just been in Germany. I ~~z~~ had seen the destruction in London and in some French cities; I saw postwar Berlin for the first time. Five years after the war it is appalling to see what they were able to do in the way of destruction with the weapons then available.

Well, you could only stand there and think, if instead of dropping blockbusters they were atomic bombs, what would this be? So there would surely be survivors after the war, surely, but no one could win a clearcut victory; nothing could be gained. We would have a situation just as after this last one--in a few years there would be thought of new war again

I don't believe there is going to be a war, but I don't minimize for an instant the danger of the present situation.

DR. YUKAWA: Of course, this is only five years since the last war, and it is the feeling of the majority of people in any country, I think, that they are sincerely peace-loving. As for Japan, we feel that they changed a great deal. One thing which I have tried to mention to you

is that the Japanese people have been quite confident as to the UN. I think that this has not yet changed; they still have some hope in the United Nations and the United States. And any way, the very fact that the majority of people all over the world are really wanting a lasting peace is the most important thing in the present situation. I can't say definitely, but I feel there are still definite hopes for peace.

DR. BUNCHE: Well, I'm glad to hear what you say in regard to the attitude of the Japanese people toward the United Nations, and I think it is well founded, because in these five extremely turbulent years in the postwar period, five years since the last war, five years since the United Nations has been in existence, while it has been weak in many ways and while it has had many failures, it has nevertheless made a most impressive record with regard to controlling war situations. That is where it has performed its greatest service, because in these five years there have been a number of international crises and actual local wars which the United Nations was able to check and stop.

It is the first time in history this has happened. Because that an international organization has been able to stop wars. Because always, big wars grow out of little ones; local wars spread if they are not controlled. And so in Indonesia, in Kashmir, in Palestine, in Greece, the United Nations saved the peace, because any one of those conflicts could have erupted into major war if it had not been checked.

Then last June it failed for the first time in Korea.

There was a similar situation; a local war broke out, the United Nations intervened and tried to bring it to an end, and it failed. Finally, the United Nations itself had to go to war, because that is what it amounts to; the United Nations intervened with force because a full-fledged war in which the United Nations itself participated in the interest of preserving the peace of the world, of checking the local conflict in Korea.

Well, the United Nations was not prepared for this; simply, it was not prepared for this sort of intervention. It had no international force; it had to develop one haphazardly and overnight. It had to lean on the U. A. for that in the early stages. ~~It~~ Now more nations are participating, but I have always felt very strongly that if the United Nations had had an international security force last June, for instance, an international force such as envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter, or if it had had commitments from a substantial number of states, that in the event of an emergency situation in which the UN had to use force, they would make available contingents of armed forces quickly, and these forces would be held in readiness, why then there would not have been any Korean crisis.

I think there was a Korean crisis because it was well known that nobody was ready--at least the UN was not ready for such a thing. Even 100,000 troops available to the

UN last June would have made a tremendous difference in the situation.

So, whatever happens in Korea, the big question is, "Will the world learn the vital lesson from Korea, and strengthen the United Nations in this way, and in time, so that there could be a maximum assurance against the repetition of the Korean situation somewhere else?"

Because, if the United Nations is strengthened sufficiently in that direction, I think it unlikely that there will be such episodes in the future.

DR. YUKAWA: I think if we compare the present United Nations, and the League of Nations, the progress is very evident, and I don't care much about the recent failure in Korea. It is more important that to some extent it succeeded.

It is true that at the present stage, we cannot hope/very much from the United Nations, in the way of help, but if we consider the future, then I hope that this will be one of the steps towards a world organization. I don't think this stage will come very soon, but we can still hope, in spite of the recent failure, that the ~~war~~ world organization is making gradual steps towards progress. Don't you think so?

DR. BUNCHE: I agree. The important thing is that the big step was taken when it was possible for ~~the~~ a large number of nations--the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations--because of their firm resolve that

every effort should be made to preserve the peace, to go so far as to authorize direct military intervention on an international basis for the first time in history.

DR. YUKAWA: That was the important step.

DR. BUNCHE: The big step--yes. Unfortunately, having taken that step, backed by that resolve, they didn't have the essential means, and they didn't have the strength available to carry it out.

I think you are quite right in the broad prospective of history. The important thing is that this decision could be taken, and having been taken once in Korea, in another situation it would and could be taken much more easily, and much more quickly, and I would hope that it would be backed by much more decisive action than was possible last June.

DR. YUKAWA: You know that we must be more patient, and not give up hope for the World Organization. If we give up completely the hope for the progress of the world organization, then everything is gone.

DR. BUNCHE: I agree with you, because that means people become resigned to the inevitability of war, and once they are resigned to the inevitability of war, then war becomes inevitable. The situation then is hopeless.

I was interested in Europe, while I was there, in finding that while there is great anxiety, and there were no war jitters, and no war hysteria, there was fear, of course, of war. But the people were keeping their poise. They were

not blowing up, and I think that is good.

DR. YUKAWA: Last summer I was in Japan for a few weeks, and at that time the war situation was better than now. But, anyway, at the time the people were very quiet, and there was no disturbance. Since that time, I don't know whether things have changed in Japan or not. I really don't know. But I still hope that the great majority of the people in the world are not so much disturbed.

DR. BUNCHE: A lot of excitement and hysteria are always dangerous, because they ~~may~~ lead people to take foolish actions.

DR. YUKAWA: I wanted to ask you about your own achievement in Israel.

DR. BUNCHE: Not my achievement; but the United Nations' achievement, in which I had a role.

DR. YUKAWA: Yes.

DR. BUNCHE: That is right.

DR. YUKAWA: I wanted to know how that was done.

DR. BUNCHE: Well, to put it in simple terms, we had there a situation ~~with~~ <sup>where</sup> two groups of peoples--one Arab, and one Jewish--were locked in a highly emotional, bitter, vicious war, involving seven Arab states and Jewish states of Israel, and there was much emotion and bitterness in that conflict--as much, I suppose, as could be found anywhere in

modern history, and with all the rationality that goes with such a situation.

It was possible, gradually, to continue the Palestine conflict, only because the United Nations stood firm, and it became apparent to the parties that the United Nations would, if necessary, use sanctions to stop the conflict which could endanger the peace of the world. And the weapon which Count Bernadotte had, and which I had after his unfortunate assassination, was simply the threat of the United Nations' action whenever we would reach an impasse; in talking with either side, we would say that we were going to demand that the Security Council impose sanctions of one kind or another.

Out there it worked. It worked, first, in getting a truce. That is always, in my view, indispensable to mediation, because it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to undertake effective mediation while the guns are shooting. ~~While~~ While they are killing each other, they can't talk sensibly.

So, the first step was to get a truce, and Count Bernadotte negotiated the first truce, which was a four-week truce, and then the Security Council later ordered an indefinite truce.

Well, neither truce was ever fully observed. There was fighting in local sectors, but it stopped the general war.

Then it took several months of the truce before we could gradually bring them to the point where they would talk, or be willing to consider calling off the war. Because, no truce can go on indefinitely, as they will keep their armies lined up and facing each other.

We had to patrol them, you see, to maintain the truce. We had military observers which were stationed all along the fighting lines. We had 700 people--United Nations people--all of them unarmed--except, they were wearing the United Nations armbands, and carrying the UN Flag, and they were stationed along the fighting lines, and they would check any fighting or shooting when it would start.

Well, it was a hazardous work, you see, because we lost Count Bernadotte, and we lost ten other men too. We had eleven men killed, and twenty-three wounded in that work. Then, finally, it was possible to induce them not to talk peace, because they wouldn't enter into peace conference--but to merely talk armistice. When they came to blows, it was difficult to get them in the same room. They didn't want to sit together.

Finally, they sat together. Then, after very difficult negotiations, and many crises and threats of one delegation to go home, and another delegation going home, they finally reached an agreement on the terms of the

armistice, and when they reached an agreement on the terms of the armistice, they were very happy. Then they were very happy--I mean the delegation.

Well, there is no final peace in Palestine yet, because there are still some outstanding political and economic issues. But there is no prospect of a resumption of the war, because in the armistice agreements, we made them sign what amounts to a nonaggression pact. Because, there was a provision in each of the armistice agreements which states that each side pledges itself not to undertake any hostile acts of any kind against the other side.

So the armistice is coming along indefinitely, so far as the military phase of the conflict is concerned.

As regards final peace, really there are only two or three outstanding issues. One of them--the most difficult one--~~xxxxxxx~~ is the issue of the Arab refugees, because these 700,000 people were normal war refugees, and now many of them want to come back to their lands. But Israel is not willing to permit them to do so. So that is a very delicate and very serious issue--and I think the most important issue outstanding between them.

It would take a long time before they would love each other. But we are not too concerned about that, as long as they don't fight each other. That is our major concern.

DR. YUKAWA: I don't know much about Count Bernadotte, but I know that he wanted to contribute to the armistice in the great war. I don't know to what extent he succeeded, or to what extent he failed.

DR. BUNCHE: Do you mean in Palestine?

DR. YUKAWA: No, in the last war.

DR. BUNCHE: I don't know much about that either, because I didn't know him at all, you see, before we went to Palestine together. But in Europe, I find he is given most credit for his work in gaining the liberation of large numbers of political and other prisoners from the Nazi camps during the war. He worked there, I think, as an agent of the Swedish Red Cross. He gained the release, in negotiations with Himmler and others, of, I think, altogether some 20,000 prisoners who had been placed in the camps. In fact, there is one man dead, today, only because Count Bernadotte succeeded in liberating his wife from a nazi camp.

The day Bernadotte was assassinated, ~~in~~ I was supposed to meet him at three o'clock in the afternoon in Jerusalem. I got to the Jerusalem airport in time, but was then held up in crossing through the lines--crossing no-man's lines--crossing the Arab lines. Bernadotte always kept to punctuality. He started on the trip without me.

One of the military observers in Jerusalem was a man named Gereau?  
Colonel Girard, a Frenchman, and Colonel Girard and Count Bernadotte had never met. When Bernadotte arrived in Jerusalem that day, Colonel Girard came up to him and began to thank him for something he said Bernadotte had done for him. I didn't know what it was. Then Girard told him that his wife was one of the prisoners--the French prisoners, whose release ~~you~~ <sup>he</sup> had gained from the German camp.

So they talked about it, and when Bernadotte waited for me, and I didn't arrive, he invited Colonel Girard to take my seat in the car, and Bernadotte always sat on the right of the rear seat, and the other party to his left, in the middle, and Colonel Girard took my seat in the car. He would never have been in the car if he ~~had~~ hadn't come up to speak to Girard to thank him for the release of his wife, and when the assassin fired the guns, Colonel Girard caught the first bullet in his left temple. He was killed instantly. He was killed before Bernadotte. He would be alive today if it hadn't been for this act.

THE MODERATOR: Well, all people are looking for a strong United Nations, and if it is successful, the peace will be kept. I would like to know what Dr. Bunche and Dr. Yukawa believe about human life. I think the Japanese readers would like to know that.

DR. BUNCHE: Well, that is very difficult, except

to say this--that I think always in terms of people. What is important in my world is always the well-being of people.

That outweighs all considerations, according to my way of thinking. I think also that when we speak of peace, we cannot speak of peace or think of peace in a vacuum. Peace must always be paced by human progress. It is necessary for the world to develop quite a new orientation today, as distinct from the present war period, because then there were vast populations of people who were relatively ignored, who were underprivileged, and undernourished, suppressed, and exploited, and these masses of people in Asia, Africa and the Colonial populations. Only a decade ago there were 750,000,000 Colonial peoples in the world. Now, that has been reduced to 200,000,000. But there shouldn't be 200,000,000. And so ~~they~~ these people have awakened.

They have aspirations for a decent life and security, and for freedom. And they are bound to get it. So if there are really to be firm foundations for peace there has to be a tremendous effort made to assist these overwhelming masses of people to realize their aspirations for a better life or a freer life and an intangible form or process has to be something not promised a decade or a score of years off or a century from now, but it has to be something that takes shape before their eyes today. Otherwise there will be continued foment and violent upheavals, all of which have a cumulative effect and lead to war situations.

THE MODERATOR: Mr. Yukawa, what is your elief in a human being as a scientist?

MR. YUKAWA: I am not a politician so I cannot ~~talk~~ talk about politics or from an economic standpoint, but I had for a long time the belief that human beings understand each other ~~and~~ <sup>as</sup> human beings in spite of the fact that they have different historic backgrounds. Since I came to this country more than two years ago, I had a very good experience. I was in Princeton at the Institute for Advanced Study. This is an institute where scientists and scholars came from different countries, from all over the world, and immediately after I arrived there I had made a lot of friends. Most of them ~~came~~ came from abroad, from various countries of Europe and South America and Asia. This in spite of the fact that we could not speak fluently with each other. And so often they were historians, etc. In spite of these differences we could easily understand each other, not as scholars but as human beings.

From that time I became more convinced of the fact that in spite of racial or historical differences, the people are essentially the same. The difference is not in human nature but it is the difference in history, in customs, etc. So the most important thing for me to do, the greatest effort we could make, was for mutual understanding of people in different countries. For example, I notice that it is generally very difficult for Americans, for example, to understand Japanese and Chinese, and it is difficult for Japanese or Chinese to understand Americans. It is not easy, but it is not impossible if you do make the effort.

Of course there is a barrier of language, but that is not insurmountable. This is not a very effective way, and we must be very patient. We must wait for a long time for it, but this is the most secure way of arriving at everlasting peace.

DR. BUNCHE: I could not agree with you more. I have always felt and firmly believe as a social scientist that there are no problems of human relations which are insoluble. It is in the fact that the problems of human relations do not stem from human nature but from human attitudes.

DR. YUKAWA: That is right.

DR. BUNCHE: If we had to think in terms of changing human nature in order to build foundations for human understanding, for a feeling of kinship among peoples, for appreciation and respect for each other, why then our outlook would be very dark, because we know that everywhere there are

bad feelings, there are fears and suspicions and prejudices and bigotries about people, but these are all manifestations of human attitudes, and human attitudes are in every society to a very large extent based upon sheer ignorance. They are not absolute in any sense. We have had in modern history many evidences that it is possible to change human ~~xxxxx~~ attitudes and change them quickly and completely.

So we can purge societies of bigotries, racial or religious prejudices, and of fears and suspicions. It is not easy always, but we know it can be done. It has been demonstrated it can be done. And so we in the UN know that taking a long-range view, in order to make the foundations of peace firm, human attitudes do have to be reached, and that is why you have UNESCO and other agencies working to reach people with messages of human brotherhood and understanding among peoples.

In this country, America, we have an example, not a perfect example by any means because it has imperfections, but unlike any other society the United States is completely heterogeneous society. It is an amalgamation of everything. Virtually every nationality in the world is represented here, every religion, every race. As I say, it is far from perfection because there are still many problems--there are problems of minority groups, racial and religious discriminations, but taking into account the relatively short time which the process has run and the tremendous amount of assimilation that has to be undertaken, it does give a pretty convincing demonstration of the fact

that it does not make any difference what the background of the person is as regards nationality, race or religion, you can take peoples from diverse backgrounds, put them together--as they are in New York City for instance, and in a period of time they learn to live together as people--not as Germans, Irish, Italians, Polish, Japanese, Negroes, Jews and Gentiles, but as people.

That of course is what we have got to have internationally, an international society in which people are recognized as people, equal, full equality for all peoples, mutual respect among peoples, and really, this is the only sort of society that is worthy of Man. There can be no other. And you must as a scientist would appreciate especially the fact that all of the biological anthropological, psychological, scientific conclusions have established beyond any doubt that there is no biological difference among people, either as regards capacity, potentiality; it is a question of immediate background, of experience, of training, of opportunity. So this is really the hope for the world.

From the standpoint of the social scientist, the difficulty is that in the sphere of social relations, Man does not show the same genius that he shows in the physical sciences. Here genius really produces startling results. What you scientists do is harnessing nature and even developing weapons which now make it possible for Man to commit suicide in the world, if he wants to. ~~XXX~~ He can wipe himself off the

world, is most impressive as an evidence of the tremendous genius that human beings have. But in the sphere of social relations he has not shown the same genius, because if to keep pace with the scientific genius he showed an equivalent ability in learning the elemental lessons of how man can live with man, think what a different kind of world this would be. If we paired the scientific achievements with equivalent achievements with regard to human relations, then this earth would be a complete paradise. Because with what you as scientists can do in the way of controlling the elements, making tremendous power available to man, destroying distance, eliminating weather hazards, making power out of almost anything man would have a very nice time of it here.

But the trouble is that his human relations have not kept pace with his physical development, and consequently there is always the danger that he will use his scientific genius to destroy himself. And this is really the dilemma of mankind.

DR. YUKAWA: This is the most important question. Probably no one can answer this difficult question, but I am very much impressed by the fact that more than fifty years ago, Alfred Nobel considered peace as important as scientific progress itself. He was a scientist, but he considered the pace as important as progress in science. This is very striking.

Nowadays we talk about the importance of peace, but it was more than fifty years ago that this occurred. So I admire him more and more for this very fact. At any rate,

scientists are usually very international; most of them are really cosmopolitan, so I am not so pessimistic about the future.. Of course, in the future something very bad may happen. But still we have some hope. I cannot definitely say -I am sorry that I cannot say it definitely, but still we have great hope.

The fact that we have already the United Nations and also, we know that scientists, for example, in mathematics and physics, at least, the scientists ~~xx~~ from every country can work together in spite of differences in politics, in racial background; in spite of that we can easily cooperate together. So we do hope that in future we can manage to use the tremendous discoveries harnessed by science for peaceful purpose.

THE MODERATOR: We looked for such a splendid word today, and we thank you very much.

DR. BUNCHE: I would like to add this in conclusion, endorsing completely what my colleague has just said, and adding only that in the final analysis it all depends on Man himself. The future is in his hands. He can be rational or irrational. He has shown great capacity for each.

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